2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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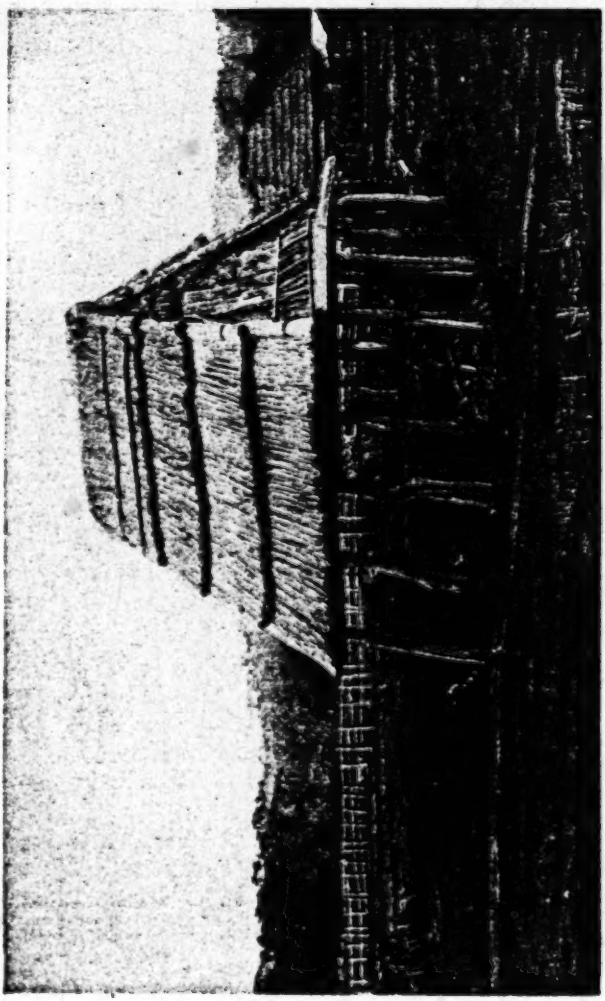

AN AINU GRANARY

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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OLD JAPANESE DRAWING OF AN AINU
STOREHOUSE

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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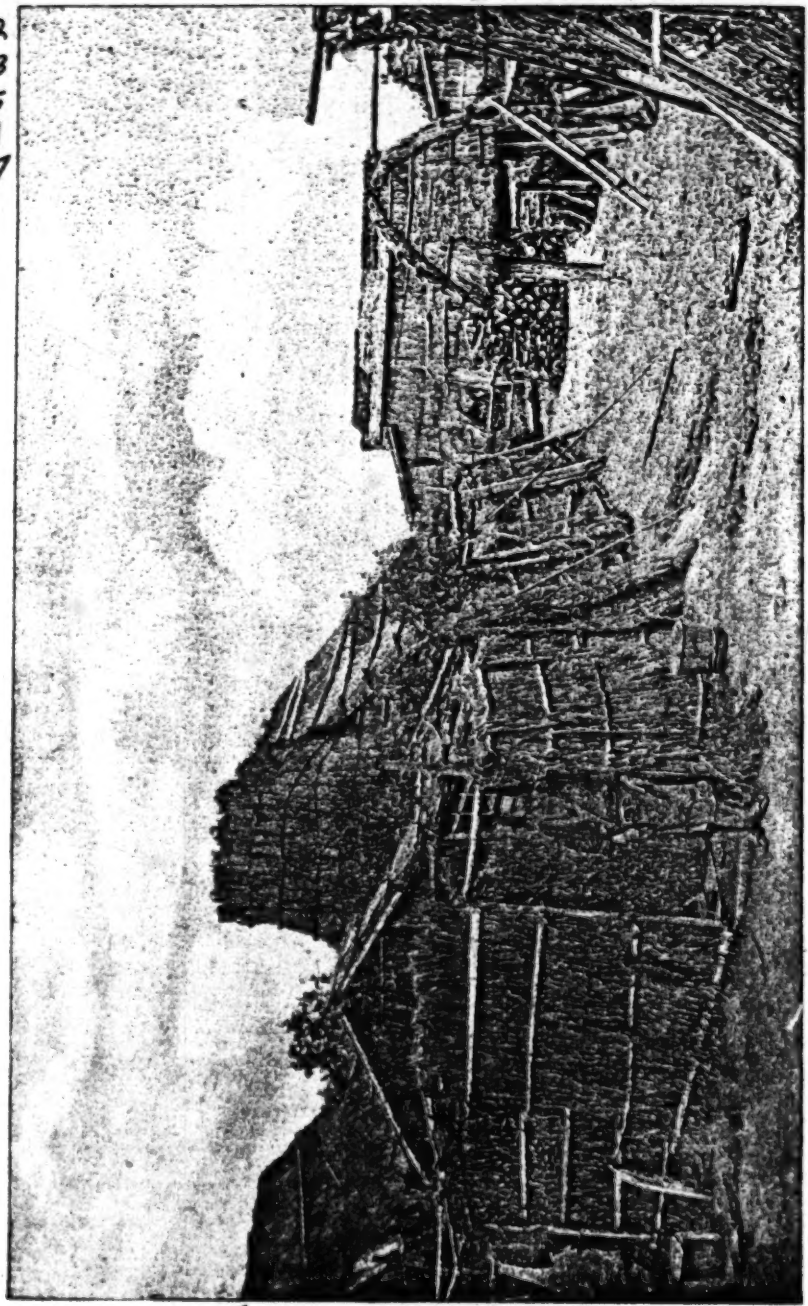

AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, BITSKAI.

[Facing p. 450 (G)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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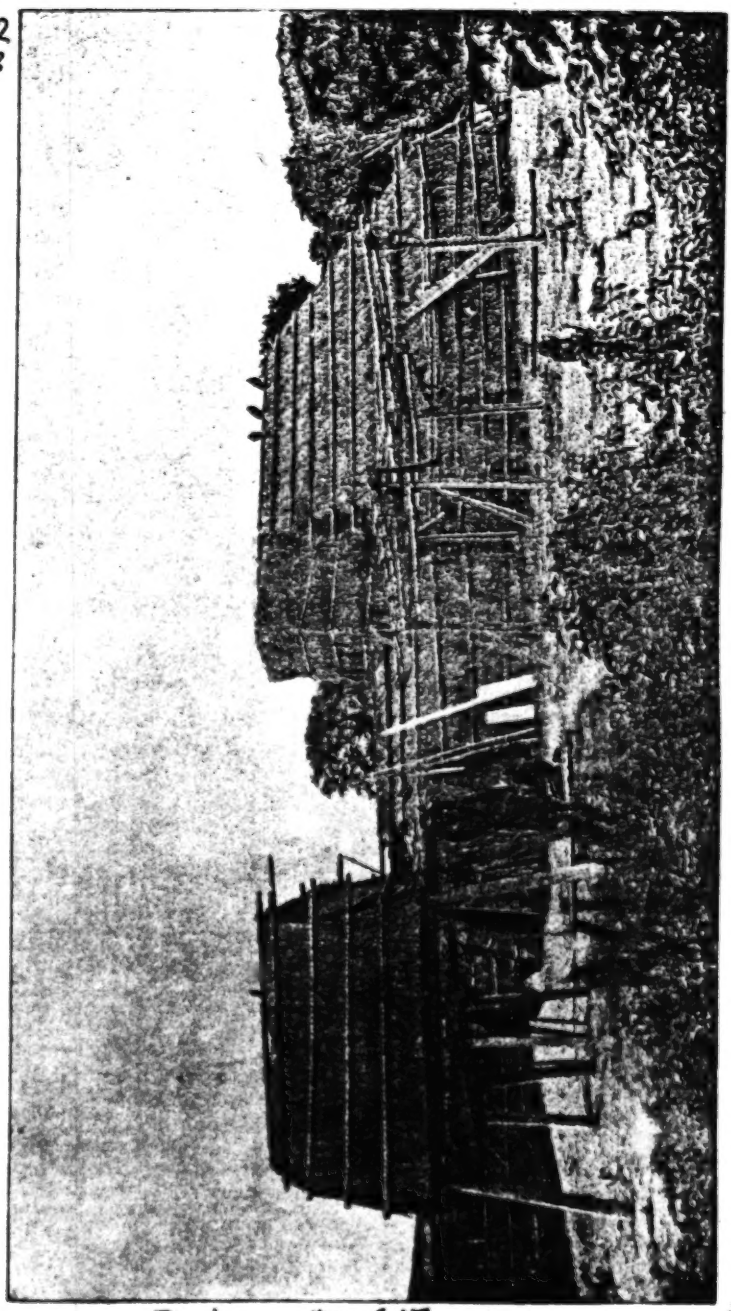

AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (H)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342 Scheube, Batchelor, and others. I am inclined to regard this as purely a matter of convenience or habit. Mr. Batchelor should be able to tell us whether the Ainos consider the points of the compass in these matters. I would only point out that what he and others have told us [114] concerning the dwellings of the Ainos in the south, does not hold for those living on the northeast coast.

The houses represented in Plates XCVIII to CIII are typical Aino houses. This statement is made with entire confidence, as the result of extended travel through the country. On some parts of the island the thatch is put on with more care, as at Uragawa, for example, where the reeds are in overlapping layers, or, as Dr. Scheube says of the houses near Horobetsu, the only region of importance for Aino studies that I did not visit, of reeds laid on in a terrace-like manner.

The house figured by Dr. Scheube is by no means a usual form, although probably it does prevail in that part of the island where he visited the Ainos, around Volcano Bay, for he says: "The houses only differ one from another in size." Of these houses Dr. Scheube says that their length runs east and west. With exception of the west side, there is a window on each side, which may be closed with a reed mat. I am not prepared to maintain that the Ainos have no regard to the points of the compass in setting up the sacred relics, symbols, *inao*, etc., in particular parts of their houses, but I doubt very much if they do have. As already stated, Dr. Scheube and other writers tell us that the household treasures are kept in the northeast corner. But so far as I have been able to discover, no writer has given a reason for these customs, although they all leave one to infer that they are general and invariable.

STOREHOUSES.

343 The Aino storehouses are very much alike throughout the island. They are shown in Plates XCVIII, CI and CII and require no particular description. They are raised on posts about 6 feet above the ground to be secure from the attacks of wild animals. They are filled with dried fish, vegetables, and other articles of food.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FOOD.

415 Doubtless there was a time, not very long ago, when the Ainos ate [264] with their fingers and had no better dishes for their food than such as they still make of bark. Fig. 72 represents a large dish made of bark, such as are in common use. The one numbered 150673 is 14 inches in length by 13 inches wide, and is used for fish. But precisely the same kind of dishes are made much smaller—not more than 4 inches long. The common water-bucket and dipper are also made of bark, as shown [177] in Fig. 73 [150668]. They have since learned to use Japanese knives, however, and they make a variety of wooden plates, which they deco- 000 rate with characteristic carved patterns (Fig. 74). Wooden spoons

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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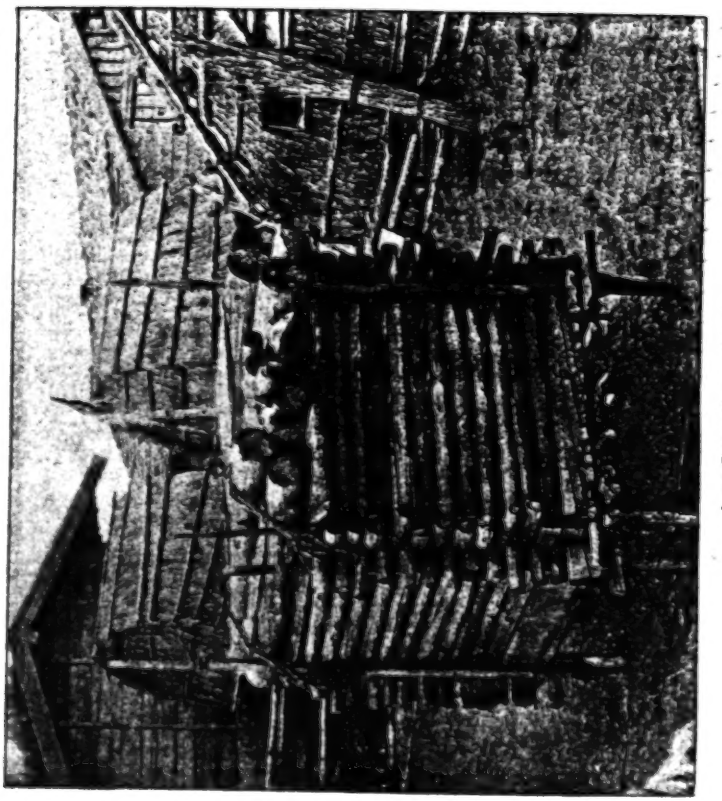

AINO BEAR CAGE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 474]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

ter as to be worthy of a full description; but, since I was unable to be present at a celebration myself, I can do no better than to give a rather full account of the ceremonies as witnessed by Dr. Scheube,* who has published the only complete description yet given by an eye witness. The original article is rather long, but in somewhat condensing the description it is believed that no detail of importance or significance has been omitted.

Before entering upon a description of the festival the bear-cage and *nusha kamui* should be noticed. The bear-cage is represented in Plate CXIII. The cages are all of this general form, built of logs notched at the ends so as to hold securely together. The bear sometimes makes most strenuous efforts to free himself by scratching and gnawing with his teeth through the tough, heavy rails, so that it becomes necessary to take out the old ones and replace them with others. This is easily done, for, owing to the manner of putting the cage together, any rail can be replaced by prying up those above it.

I saw many such bear-cages in the course of my travels in Yezo, but it is said that they are less numerous now than they formerly were. The *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge, already referred to, is represented in Plate CXII, from a photograph taken at Urap. It is also shown in some of the succeeding plates. This rude hedge of rough poles is an important structure in connection with the ceremony about to be described, as well as in other religious observances. The significance of the name is not exactly "temple," but it is the nearest approach to "temple" in the Aino language. Before it prayers are recited to most of the gods, although not to all, as we shall see. It is here designated "sacred hedge" for convenience.

Dr. Scheube witnessed the bear feast in 1880, and his account reads substantially as given below. Plates CXIV to CXVII, illustrating the ceremonies at the bear feast, are reproductions of Japanese drawings, from a makimono formerly belonging to Mr. Edward Greey, now in possession of the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. G. Brown Goode. Dr. Scheube has given two illustrations of the ceremony, which are substantially the same, although in one picture the crushed bear has his head directed toward the sacred hedge, while the men sit with their backs against the hedge. Perhaps there is no established custom in the matter, and such incidental changes are of no significance.

THE BEAR CULTUS OF THE AINOS.

[Condensed from Dr. B. Scheube.]

According to the accounts of travelers concerning the Ainos, the bear is honored by this peculiar people as a god. But it would be an

* Der Bärencultus und die Bärenfeste des Ainos, mit einigen Bemerkungen über die Täuro derselben. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Dec., 1889.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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STORE-HOUSES AT PIRATORI.

CHAPTER III.

Up the Saru River—Piratori and its chief.

361 A LARGE number of Ainu have taken up their abode on the banks of the River Saru, or Sharu, as it is called by them, and Piratori, nearly fifteen miles from the coast, is the largest village of the whole series.

133 361 [103] The scenery from the coast to this village is not grand, but pretty, through a thickly-wooded country and along grassy plains. The Ainu give to the plain itself the name of Sharu-Ru, which corresponds in English to a "track in a grassy plain." Along this water-way, or not far from it, one meets with numerous small Ainu villages and scattered huts until Piratori is reached.

Piratori is a string or succession of many villages on undulating ground, the last of them being situated on a high cliff overlooking the river. In the Ainu language *Pira* means

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"a cliff," and *Tori* "a residence." As in all Ainu villages, the huts are in one line, some few yards one from the other. Each has a separate structure—a small storehouse built on piles—generally at the west end of the hut.

On my arrival at Piratori, I was welcomed by Benry, the *Ottena* (chief) of the village, who invited me to his hut and *salaamed* me in the most solemn manner, not forgetting to mention incidentally that "his throat was very dry," and that *sake* (Japanese wine) could be obtained from a Japanese who lives opposite to his hut.

"He is a bad man," said Benry confidentially; "but he sells very good *sake*."

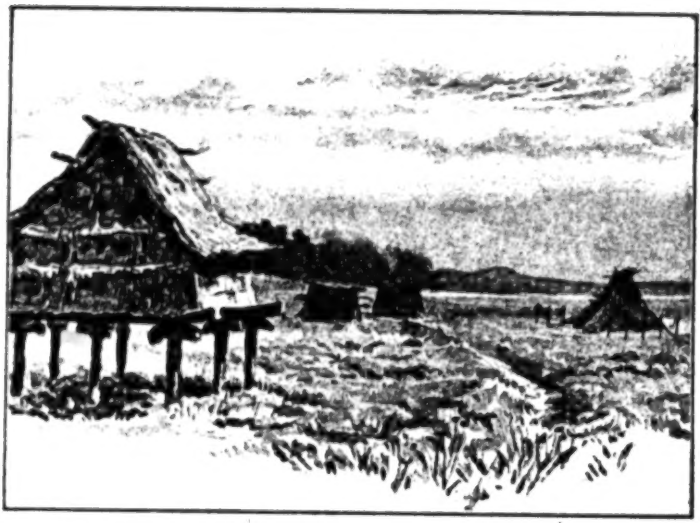
The *sake* was procured, and Benry, beaming with joy, poured it with his shaky, drunken hands into a large bowl. He then produced a wooden stick, shaped like a paper-knife, about five inches in length, and waved it in the air five or six times with his right hand, dipping the point of it each time into the fluid. "*Nishpa*"—sir, master—said he. Then, leaning forwards and lifting up his heavy moustache with the small stick, he swallowed the contents of the bowl at a draught. The same performance took place each time that some fresh *sake* was poured into his bowl, and then Benry, with an inimitable cunning, and a comically self-sacrificing expression on his face, meekly enquired whether I would care to see "how much an Ainu could drink."

"Yes," said I, "we will go down to the river, and you shall show me there if you can drink it dry."

"Yie, yie, yie"—no, no, no—hurriedly replied in Japanese the Ainu chief; "water is too heavy, and I meant wine." Owing to this small difference of opinion, and having no wish to encourage him in his drunkenness, Benry's capacity for intoxicating fluids is yet unknown to the civilised world.

Benry's house is a palace compared to other Ainu huts. It is much larger than most of them, and boasts of a wooden floor, in the centre of which a rectangular fire-place is cut out. The hut has two windows, one toward the east, the other opening to the south; but no chimney is provided as an outlet for the smoke. A hole in the west corner of the roof answers this purpose. The rough wooden frame is thatched with tall reeds and *arundinaria*, and the roof is shaped like

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



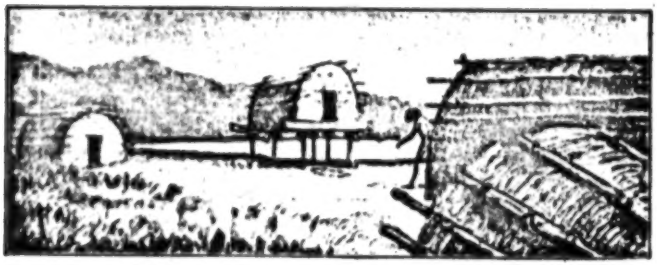
AINU HOUSES AND STOREHOUSE, FRISHIKOBETS, TOKACHI RIVER.

CHAPTER VII.

The Tokachi Region—Pure Ainu Types—Curious Mode of River Fishing.

THE Tokachi River is one of the largest and most important in Yezo. Knowing that the Ainu either settle on the sea-shore or up river-courses, I formed an idea that some good types were to be found up this river. On reaching Otsu, a small settlement at the mouth of the Otsugawa—a branch of the large delta formed by the Tokachi—my idea was confirmed by the report that there were no Japanese villages in the interior. The expedition up the Tokachi River was by no means easy from the accounts I heard at Otsu. None of the Japanese ever dare to penetrate into the interior from Otsu, and, so far as foreigners are concerned, the Tokachi River was utterly unexplored. There is a certain charm in being the first man to do something, and I decided to attempt the experiment. The Japanese of Otsu dissuaded me strongly from carrying out my plan; for they said the grass and reeds were so high that I could not possibly get through.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



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AINU HUTS AND STOREHOUSES ON KUTCHARO LAKE.

CHAPTER X.

The Kutcharo River and Lake—A Sulphur Mine—Akkeshi and its Bay. 133

THE Kutcharo River is of some importance, for though not of great length, it is navigable by small boats for nearly twenty miles from its mouth.

I left Kushiro one morning, and made my way up the river, not by boat but along its banks on horseback, so as to get a better idea of the surrounding country and its inhabitants. At Kushiro I left more than half my luggage, to be sent down to Hakodate by the first ship that happened to call, and this greatly changed my mode of travelling. Instead of two ponies, one pony would now be quite sufficient to carry my baggage and myself; and where ponies were not obtainable, I could carry all my paraphernalia on my own back with no very great difficulty, and in this way I should not be hindered on my journey. 122

I daresay the baggage I was carrying now weighed about forty-five pounds. It mostly consisted of painting materials, and wooden panels, on which I usually paint my sketches when travelling.

As to clothes and boots, I was beginning to be rather "hard up." No weaver's work, no tailor's garments, nor tanner's hides, can stand the wear and tear of such rough travelling as I had had, and the old saying, that a "light heart and a thin pair of breeches carry you a long way," is most decidedly not to be applied to anyone journeying to and fro on a pack-saddle

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be de[redacted]d in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types.

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake.

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water.

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift.

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

A few Ainu huts are scattered along the
coast, and some of them have peculiarly shaped storehouses. They are small, built entirely of wood, and roofed with shingles. Some have two floors, and in this case, though built on piles, the first floor is only a few inches above the ground. The "mat" was supplanted by a wooden door at the entrance of the storehouse.

The Abashiri cliffs are grand, and from a distance have all the appearance of, though they are not in reality, basaltic rocks. They are scarred, riven, and fractured in all directions, as if by excessive heat. The upper portion of the cliffs is of a beautiful grey-whitish colour, blending into yellow and red at their warm brown bases. The small cylindrical islet which I give in the illustration is on the north side of this cliff, and is of the same volcanic formation. It has certain traces of sulphur as a further evidence of its origin. Flocks of sea-gulls, penguins, and cormorants have chosen this island for their abode.

Abashiri is the only place on the north-east coast which may eventually be of some importance, as it has a fair anchorage for small craft under the lee of the islet and outstretching cliff. No other place on the north-east coast possesses such an advantage. On the Shiretoko Peninsula sulphur accumulations are found at Itashibeoni; but, unfortunately, the want of a safe harbour, the ruggedness of the coast, and the lack of drinkable water in the vicinity, are all facts which make it improbable that it could be worked with profit for some years to come. The Ainu at Abashiri are repulsive creatures, especially the men, and have more the appearance of wild beasts than human beings. Their faces are almost square, the mouth large, with narrow lips, the ends of which converge towards the ears. The nose is short and stumpy, they have very heavy eyebrows, and the eyes are almost lost under the shadow of their projecting forehead.

Ponies are scarce and bad along this coast, and the further north one goes the more difficult the travelling becomes; the huts are rarer; the human beings more uncouth and solitary. The north-east coast is a region of swamps, lagoons, and quicksand rivers.

Not far inland from Abashiri there is a large lagoon, the Abashiri-ko; then, a few miles further north, another as large

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Moreover, with the latter, when walking the greater pressure is forward under the foot, and their toes are turned in; while in Ainu footprints the whole foot rests on the ground, and they keep it perfectly straight, moving the two feet parallel to each other.

I have given these few points on tracking, as it will explain to the reader how I was able to find my way from one village to another miles apart, to steer for huts where I had never been, and to overcome great difficulties, which I could not have surmounted if I had not learnt the art of tracking, and so far developed my natural powers. My ponies were also to a great extent my teachers; and by a close examination of their instinct I learned that I myself possessed it, and improved on it.

Between Sawaki, or Fujima, and Poronai there is a beautiful forest of oak and hard-wood trees on the hills and firs on the higher mountains, while the shore above the sea-wash is covered with thick scrub-bamboo, which reaches a height of about ten feet.

On the sandy beach, besides a large number of whales' bones, there is any amount of driftwood.

At Poronai, which consisted of only eight huts, the Ainu had adopted an architecture for their storehouses different to that of other tribes. The walls and the roof were made partly of wood, partly of the bark of trees. Heavy stones were placed on the roof to prevent it from being blown away during the strong gales so frequent along that coast.

The natives described the winter weather as very severe, especially during northerly winds, and they told me that some years the sea all along the coast is frozen for some eight or ten miles out, besides the drift-ice which sets in from the north and works its way along the coast as far as Cape Nossyap, in the neighbourhood of Nemuro. At the beginning of the winter this ice, probably drifted across from Sakhalin by the strong current in the La Perouse Strait, sets in from the north and works down all along the north-east coast of Yezo, filling up all indentations in the coast-line, and forming a solid mass on the surface of the water.

Seals are very plentiful on these shores as far as Abashiri,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Kurilsky Ainu until quite recently destroyed their huts when migrating from one island to another. They also burnt the huts of deceased persons. It is needless to say that the Ainu have no churches, no hotels, no hospitals, and no public buildings of any kind. The huts in villages are a little way from one another, and each hut has directly in front a separate storehouse, built on piles or posts so as not to be accessible to wolves, dogs, or rats. These are small structures, the architecture of which has the local characteristics of the habitations, with the exception that they are invariably on piles, while the habitations are on the ground. Clothes, furs, mats, and winter provisions of sea-weed are kept in these storehouses, and access to them is by means of a peculiar ladder. It is a mere log of wood, six or seven feet in length, pointed at one end, and with five or six incisions, which serve as steps, and remind me of the steps cut by an ice-axe in a glacier or on frozen snow. Natives go up and down these ladders with ease, even when carrying heavy weights on their heads; and good care is always taken to remove the ladder when leaving the storehouse. Women principally look after these storehouses, and seem to have the whole care and control of them. I have often seen an Ainu girl—for a storehouse could hardly hold more than one—sitting on the tiny door working at her lord and master's *Atzis* robe. Hour after hour I have seen her sitting there, working patiently till the sun has set and the darkness has come. Her materials were then stowed away; the mat at the door was let down; the ladder descended and kicked away; and sadly singing in her soft falsetto voice, she retired into the dirt and dark of her habitation.

The storehouses stand about six feet above the level of the ground, and are generally on four, six, or eight piles. Upon each pile is placed a large square piece of wood turned downwards at the sides, so as not to be accessible to rats and mice. Upon these square pieces of wood rest horizontally four rafters, forming a quadrangle about eight feet square. The small storehouse has as a base this quadrangle, and is seldom high enough to allow of an adult to stand inside.

Storehouses are thatched like all other houses. On

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the upper Tokachi, however, they are covered with the bark of trees.

Next in connection with Ainu habitations comes the skull-trophy at the east end of the hut. This is on a parallel line to the hut wall, and only a few yards away from it, and is made of a number of bi-forked poles, upon which are placed the skulls of the bears, wolves, and foxes killed by the owner of the hut. The Ainu is proud of this trophy, and if the number of bear skulls is very large, he commands a certain amount of respect from his hairy brethren. There is nothing that Ainu admire more than courage, and there is nothing in the world that an Ainu desires more than to be thought brave. When he has gained this character a man becomes in a certain way the "lion" of the village. He embellishes his trophy with a *Nusa* and *Inaos* (willow wands with overhanging shavings—*see* Chapter on Superstitions), and he always looks on it as an evidence of his manly glory. Besides this, many Ainu possess one or two live bears kept in cages. Bear hunters often secure one or more cubs, which they bring home and allow to live in the hut like one of the family or an Irishman's pig. These cubs are nursed along with and in the same manner as the children, and Ainu say that women often put them to the breast and suckle them like their own infants. Whether this is true or not I cannot say; but though I have never seen it, and therefore cannot vouch for it, it is not unlike Ainu women to do such a thing.

When the new-comers grow big and powerful enough to be dangerous, the men make a rough cage with logs of timber, placing them one over the other in a quadrangular shape, and lashing them strongly together. The bear is driven into the cage, which is then roofed over; and after a couple of years of confinement, during which it is fattened, poor Bruin is killed for a bear festival. In the lower part of the cage there is a small wooden tray by which food is served to the captive.

THE APE-KILAI, OR EARTH-RAKE, AS USED BY PIRATORI AINU.

On the north-east coast of Yezo I have also seen smaller cages, in which foxes, eagles, or other animals are kept; and I always noticed the care which Ainu took to

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [843] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet ● 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

[462] The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [262] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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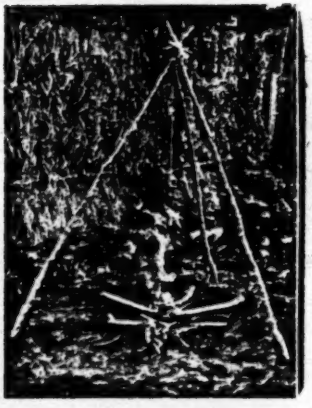

3.

Fig. 1. House with porch, south side. Fig. 2. Store house. Fig. 3. Tripod (*chisei inoka*) for purification of new house site.

PLATE XXX, HOUSE, STOREHOUSE AND CEREMONIAL TRIPOD.

[p. 78, (N)]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1.

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise;* associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise;* a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san;* open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma;* and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi;* a skinning spot, *iri an ushi;* a site for the preparation of fish, *chep karu ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi:* and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI.

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.

Upper Tokapchi Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi	6
			Pennai	2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Moseushi	6
			Nyashikeshi	3
			Fulka	1
			Sarunnai	1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

To one class belonged those from other places who, relying on some affinal relationship or kinship with a local member, had come to stay as a sort of guest by his or her side. With the aid from the member and the headman, they were to remain for a year or two, or even four or five, enjoying hunting and fishing with regular members and then to go home again to their native area. They were usually married and were with their families. To the other class belonged those who had no relations among the local group members but, pressed by narrow circumstances, had come for aid from them. After passing certain questionings by some one headman they were taken in and then, whether married or single, male or female, were temporarily housed for the first year or two by the side of the headman's, for instance, under the floor of his elevated storehouse built on piles. Provided also by him with food and clothing, they were to live by helping in manual work for the headman and his people, all under his directions and supervision. They were called *ussiu*. Eventually, as their character and personal cirumstances became known, the headman, if convinced of their good intention, real need and absence of selfish conduct, gave permission for them to build and to live in a house of their own somewhere in the area according to his directions. Nevertheless, they remained *anun utari* just as before; at all times in hunting and fishing they were under watchful supervision in case they should behave wrongly or thoughtlessly and ignore the nature-spirits venerated by the local members. If they were single, the headman usually arranged marriages for them with some local women with whom to make a home in the area. No longer *anun utari*, they were then counted as regular members. The marriage procedures and the resultant new status seem to have been all similar to those previously described for affiliates with the local group. Though in point of fact not much is known of their concrete activities and status, some evidence well bear out their existence[16].

Shine Itokpa Group.

Neighbouring local groups were aggregated into larger territorial groups[17]. The larger group was called as *shine itokpa uko koru utaru*, one and the same *itokpa* jointly possessing people, or in abbreviation *shine utaru*, one and the same people. The present writer calls it *shine itokpa* group. The group usually consisted of several local groups next to each other along a river as distinguished by the Ainu. In Azuma, however, one of the two *shine itokpa* groups nearer to the coast consisted of a mono-settlement local group called *pishun kotan* or *pishun utaru* (Note 43). The cores of the member local groups were held to be a group of patrilineal kinsmen, *shine ekashi ikiru*, descended from an ancient common male ancestor of local origin. It was the *itokpa* of this ancestor which was possessed by every member of the *shine itokpa*

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the deer fence, no setting of spring bows was allowed on the lower plain or on the lower reaches of a valley, where not only hunters but Ainus in general had occasion to go about.

Deer Fence.

The *kuteki*, a wooden fence construction for catching deer, varied in length from a few hundred metres to several kilometres. It had narrow openings at certain intervals where spring bows were set with poisoned arrows. The deer fence was usually set up near oak woods, *komni-tai*, on the level plain or near woods of mixed trees by streamlets, *nitat*, on the wide slopes of a hill, intercepting the deer tracks. It was built and used either by one independent family or by two or three families from the same settlement cooperating as a hunting group. The deer track, *yuk apiri*, remained comparatively stable, so that the same structure was repaired and used over successive seasons by the same cooperative group that built it. The deer fence was usually erected neither too far from the settlement nor too near. Usually situated within only 4 or 5 kilometres, it was easily patrolled by visitors from their homes. However, some families from Nitmap in Tokapchi built their deer fences farther away than the others; the hunters migrated every season to huts erected near the constructions (Map 2).

MATUURA, on his official exploration of the Ainu territory in 1857-58 observed and recorded an actual example of a long deer fence constructed on a hill slope not too far from Ainu settlements (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 396).

Hunters' Hut.

While hunting in the hills and mountains, the Ainu used two different kinds of hunters' huts. The distinction is made, not according to the style or construction, but to the use and location of the huts. One type, set up near the winter quarters of deer and used chiefly for deer hunting was usually known as *iramande chise*. The other type, built near the hibernation centre of bears and used mainly for bear hunting, was usually called *Kimun kashi* or *kucha ko chise*. The difference in location between these two kinds will be described later in sections dealing with deer- and bear-hunting. In either case, the hut was located in a dale valley, and the area lying upstream formed the hunting ground, i.e. *ku ari ushi*, place for setting bows, for the occupants (p. 59). The hut rectangular in plan and measuring ca. 5×4 to 3×2 metres, was roofed with bamboo grass or bark of fir trees. Usually, it had four walls, but sometimes a mere gable served the purpose. Except in the absence of a porch and outdoor frames for drying meat and the addition of a small shed, *ku o kashi*, for storing spring bows and arrows, the fundamental

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

411
342
343

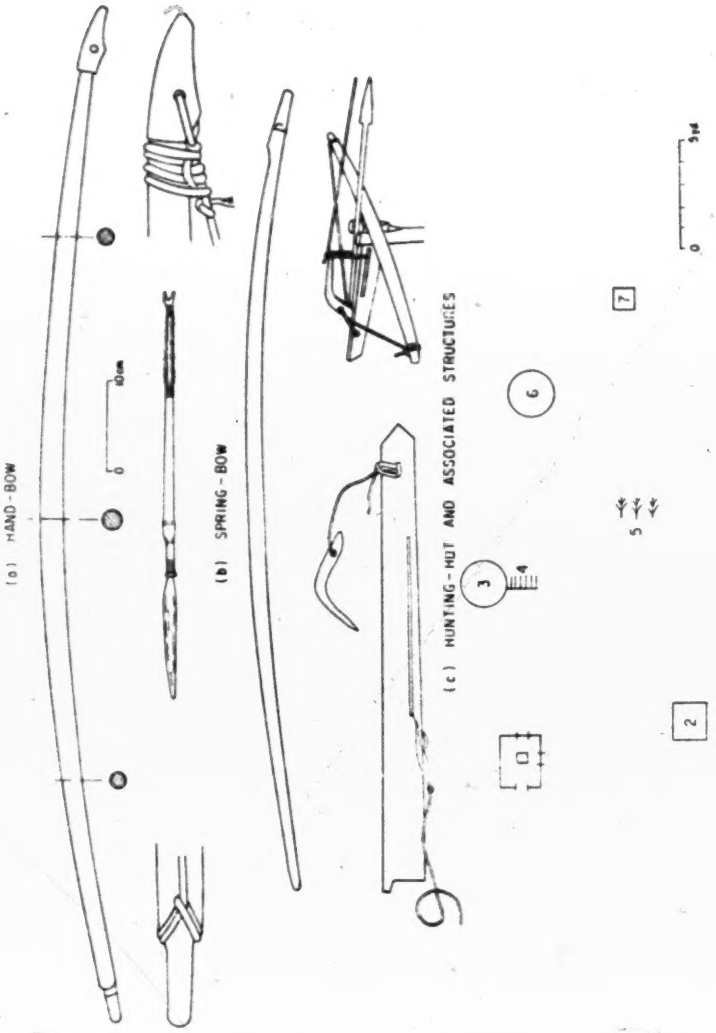

Fig. 5. (a) and (b), Tokyo University Anthropological Institute Collection. (c), reconstructed plan; 1, hunting hut; 2, store-house for meat and skins; 3, ash dump; 4, outdoor alter; 5, dead trees for drying meat; 6, bone dump; 7, store-house for spring-bows and associated gear.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Hence the great sanctity in which the window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information obtained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11).

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed.

(61) Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated structures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what remains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62).

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative position of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56).

(62) Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.